

The Classical Weekly

Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of Publication, Barnard College, New York City. In the United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere \$2.50. Single numbers, 15 cents each. Address all communications to Charles Knapp, at 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City. Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

VOLUME XXV, No. 7

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1931

WHOLE No. 670

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CAESAR, DE BELLO GALLICO 1.10

The Effects of Climate on Roman History

The tenth chapter of the first book of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* begins as follows:

Caesari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Haeduarum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia. Id si fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet.

The words of special interest here are *locis patentibus*. They are of special interest because they point to the real reason which impelled Caesar to engage in war with the Helvetians, and also because their occurrence here affords an opportunity to introduce the class in Caesar effectively to the fundamental physical facts which conditioned some of the larger outlines of Roman history.

I have just examined nine second-year Latin textbooks, widely advertised and extensively used. Six of them give conflicting syntactical notes on *locis patentibus*¹; three of them give no note at all; not one of them makes any allusion to either of the two points mentioned above. Therefore it may be not amiss to call attention to the connection existing between geography and history.

Various minor causes may have contributed to Caesar's decision to fight the Helvetians. His own personal ambition may have been one; another may have been a feeling on his part that Roman prestige would suffer if tribes which were friendly to Rome should be left in the lurch. But these, at most, were *contributing* causes. We can hardly doubt that, if they had been absent, the result would have been pretty much the same. The *real* cause was the fact that the political boundary of the Roman province in Gaul did not coincide with a physical barrier. This fact is implied by the words *locis patentibus*, and it can be easily verified by a glance at a map. The Province would be exposed to very grave danger if it should have as neighbors savage warriors like the Helvetians in a region where the divisional line was not a physical barrier. This was a case where the surest defense was offense.

Caesar crushed the Helvetians and sent the meager remnant of them back to their former territory. Danger from that source was thus removed. But the lack of a physical barrier remained. Caesar almost at once found himself engaged in war with another tribe, and he did not stop until he had driven the hordes of Ariovistus across the Rhine. Here was a real physical barrier. Beyond it the Romans later on could and did

advance, though only temporarily; short of it they could not stop with safety, once they had entered Transalpine Gaul. Book 1 ends with the survivors of the army of Ariovistus fleeing across the Rhine. Books 2 and 3 tell us how Caesar, in characteristic Roman style, methodically consolidated the territory behind that barrier.

The bearing of physical barriers on Roman history is an interesting study. The small-scale nation, the city-state, was a natural result of Mediterranean contour. Rome began on as small a scale as any, and for a long time its territorial growth was very slow. Centuries elapsed before Roman dominion extended over peninsular Italy. When that stage was reached, the sea was the boundary on the east, the south, and the west, while the short northern boundary was in part protected by the curve of the Apennines. When the Romans took Sicily, they took all of it, and thus they had the sea as a boundary; they were not content, as the Greeks and the Phoenicians had been, to occupy only a part of the island.

When the Romans entered continental Italy* (Cisalpine Gaul), the obvious course was to continue their advance until they should reach the Alps and use those mountains as a boundary. This they finally did. But, when they later flowed down into Transalpine Gaul, they no longer had a physical barrier for a boundary. By this time Rome was the one great power in the Mediterranean region and was faced with the double task of unifying and defending that whole region. Owing to Mediterranean contour, unification could not be accomplished unless the Mediterranean sea should be maintained as an open highway; thus it was necessary for Rome to control the whole coastline in order to wipe out the nests of the pirates. To defend the region, it was exceedingly important to have a physical barrier for a boundary; hence where, as in Southern France, such barrier is lacking, Rome kept on constantly advancing in search of a barrier. The sea was the final barrier on the west; on the south was the Sahara desert; but the east and the north presented difficult problems. On the whole, the European problem was harder to solve than the Asiatic—not so much because barriers were harder to find in Europe than in Asia as because they were more urgently needed. To understand this, it is necessary to consider briefly the movements of population in and around the Mediterranean region.

At first glance these movements appear bewilderingly complex. There was a trend from Greece eastward

¹Three take the words as dative with *finitimos*, one as ablative absolute, one as ablative of place; one hesitates between ablative absolute and ablative of place.

*Continental Italy is that portion of Italy which is a part of the main body of the European continent, as distinguished from peninsular Italy, which is the portion of Italy which projects into the sea. An east and west line running through Genoa would approximately coincide with the boundary between them. The distinction is convenient for several reasons. One reason is that there is a marked difference between the two parts in types of climate.

into a part (but only a part) of Asia Minor; a little later the trend was from eastern Greece, by sea, westward to Italy and to Sicily. From Greece to southern Russia there was no large movement, in spite of the facts that wheat was usually at a premium in the Mediterranean region and that the best wheat lands in Europe are in southern Russia. At a later date, when population in the Mediterranean region was reaching the saturation point, the movement was to the northwest; the wheat lands of southern Russia were again avoided, although the shortage of wheat was acute. Outside the Roman Empire, the movements of the barbarians appear—at first—equally inexplicable. Great waves are seen, flowing in almost every direction, sometimes going back on their courses or swinging in huge ellipses. But, in spite of all this seeming complexity, all these movements have a simple explanation which may be summed up in the one word, climate.

As a result of modern industrial progress, and especially of modern methods of transportation, climate does not count for so much now as was formerly the case. Food, clothing, and shelter can be produced more easily, and the resources of the civilized world are to a large extent pooled, so that the deficiencies of one region can be supplied by another much more easily than in the past. It requires a real effort of the imagination for us to put ourselves in the position of the ancients in this respect. No advance in civilization can be made until the bare physical necessities of the whole community can be met by something less than the whole-time effort of the whole community. Severe winters increase those needs while they decrease the opportunities for meeting them. The seemingly complicated movements described above were simply efforts to retain or to obtain regions where the climate in winter was warm, or at any rate mild. The Mediterranean climate (which occurs in most, but not quite all, of the region bordering on the Mediterranean sea) is characterized by winters which range from warm to very mild. On much of the west coast of Europe the winters, though cooler than in Mediterranean lands, are still mild; a northern advance brings only a gradual increase in severity³. Going eastward across the

continent from northwestern France one finds winters of steadily increasing severity, although the latitude remains the same. Traveling northward from the Aegean, one finds a sudden and swift increase in the severity of the winters. The effort of Mediterranean peoples would be to stay in the Mediterranean region if they could, and, if that should not be possible, to take the next best thing, which was the west coast climate. The effort of the peoples of central and eastern Europe would be to get into the Mediterranean region if they could, and, as the next best thing, to get to the west coast.

When Greek civilization, based largely on climatic factors, had established itself in European Greece, on the Aegean islands, and on the western and the southwestern margin of Asia Minor, the natural spread would be to Sicily and southern Italy, because of similarity of climate. There would be very little tendency to spread to the interior of Asia Minor, where the climate is of the steppe type (merging toward the east into the continental interior type⁴). Also, there would be very little tendency to spread to southern Russia, where the climate is of the continental interior type; to the Greeks, as to the Romans at a later period, even a solution of the wheat problem would not compensate for the rigors of life in that climate⁵. Nantes and Odessa are in about the same latitude; the normal mean temperature for January in Nantes is only four degrees lower than in Rome, but in Odessa it is nineteen degrees lower than in Rome. We can readily understand why the outflow from the Mediterranean region was toward the northwest.

From central and eastern Europe constant pressure was exerted against the regions of milder winters. More than once in the second millennium B. C. Greece was overrun by hordes from the north. The Homeric Greeks show traces of a not very remote grassland ancestry⁶. The capture of Rome by the Gauls in the fourth century B. C. was an example, on a smaller scale, of the workings of the same pressure. But we have to consider not so much the occasional successful invasions as the pressure, continuous in operation though varying in point of impact. Whether it was directed toward the Aegean or toward Italy or toward the west coast of Europe, the pressure was due to the same cause, the lure of mild winters. Resistance at any point to this pressure would be apt to transmit

the Firths of Forth and Clyde, the other was from the Tyne to the Solway.

<The reader will recall here the Limes Romanus, the great series of fortifications constructed by the Romans to serve as a defense against the Germans. See the article Limes Germanicus, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹¹, 14.130-131. In that article the statement is made that the best account in English of this Limes is to be found in H. F. Pelham, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20, reprinted in Pelham's *Essays on Roman History*, 179-211 (1911). C. K.>

⁴The continental interior type of climate is, as the name implies, the type of climate that normally occurs in the interior of a continent. Owing to the absence of the moderating effects of the sea, this type of climate is characterized by great extremes of temperature. In some regions (including a considerable part of the Black Sea region) the influence of this type of climate makes itself felt as far as the coast.

⁵This, of course, does not mean that Greeks and Romans left that region untouched. It is no rare thing for a nation to establish occasional trading stations or military outposts or penal settlements in a region which is uncongenial for residence.

⁶This will account for Homer's blonde heroes and for Vergil's blonde Aeneas. For Vergil's blonde Dido some other explanation must be sought and can, I think, be found.

³Much help may be obtained by studying a climatological map of Europe, showing the January isotherms. The January isotherm of 40° F. (that is, the line which joins points whose mean temperature for January is 40 degrees F.) runs almost due north and south through France and Great Britain. In other words, one may travel north for hundreds of miles without experiencing any increase in the severity of the temperature in the coldest month of the year. Caesar found that the winters were milder in parts of Britain than in parts of Gaul (*De Bello Gallico* 5.12); in that part of Europe the increase in severity of winter temperature occurs as you travel east, not as you travel north.

Various factors can be seen at work in determining Rome's policy in regard to Britain. The English Channel would have made a good boundary. Caesar's expeditions to Britain seem to have been due partly to curiosity, partly to the fact that the Britons had given help to the Gauls against the Romans (*De Bello Gallico* 4.20). As a result of his visits he learned that the climate was surprisingly mild and that wheat was raised in the island. We can hardly doubt that this combination of a mild climate and a wheat-producing area was largely responsible for the later Roman attempts to subjugate Britain (the mean temperature for January in Southampton is 15 degrees warmer than that in Odessa). But, having settled in Britain, the Romans found themselves once more confronted with the problem of the lack of a natural barrier. The island was large, and its complete subjugation would have been a long and difficult task—too difficult for an Empire whose vast extent was already increasing the difficulty of defense. They solved the problem by constructing two artificial barriers, choosing locations where the maximum of results could be obtained with the minimum of effort. One of these was between

through the whole mass a movement which would show itself in increased pressure at some other point, possibly many hundreds of miles away. As Dr. Marion I. Newbigin says⁷, "...A push at the Rhine meant pressure on the Lower Danube". A push at the Lower Danube might, if it were hard enough, drive the barbarians back on their tracks and result in pressure on the Rhine, or, if it were not hard enough for that, it might result in a movement of the barbarians up the Danube and the Save and the Drave and into continental Italy.

This enables us to see some meaning in the complex trails of barbarian migration. It also brings us back to Caesar's wars in Gaul. As we have seen, the wars against the Helvetians and Ariovistus were fundamentally due to facts of contour. Caesar did not stop until he reached the Rhine. This river, throughout almost all its length, is a formidable barrier. For another part of the Empire the Danube afforded a barrier. A line (which could be artificially fortified) from a point near Karlsruhe to a point near Ulm would shorten the boundary. A glance at the map will show that the Rhine-Danube line, shortened as thus suggested, would be the most satisfactory boundary for the Roman Empire. It agrees very closely with the boundary actually adopted. At one or two points temporary advances were made beyond this boundary. But they were 'flickering expedients'; they could not be maintained. The Danube itself was not an ideal boundary; strategically, it had points of weakness; climatically, the river runs through a region where the winters were too severe. But it was the best boundary available⁸.

Mediterranean contour produces a number of small areas separated from one another by formidable barriers, but the region as a whole is not bounded by any continuous barrier. This made unification a terribly difficult task. Rome was the only power that met with any success in the performance of this task, and the effort took the Romans far beyond the limits of congenial environment. When the Rhine is reached, the west coast climate is already beginning to merge into the continental interior type. The Lower Danube, though nearer to the Mediterranean region in miles, is even more remote than the Rhine in climate⁹. We shall do less than justice to Rome's extraordinary

achievement if we overlook the geographical factors in the problem.

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THE HIGH SCHOOL COURSE IN LATIN¹

FIRST-YEAR LATIN

Not enough stress can be laid upon the importance of teaching Latin well and thoroughly in the first year of the pupils' study of Latin. Here, as in no other branch in the School curriculum, there will be a hundred-fold return for good teaching. It is amazing to see how eagerly pupils approach the subject; there is in them a desire to learn that grows with the knowledge that they are accomplishing something. Right here, at the beginning, is where the foundation must be laid deeply and carefully, for the superstructure that is to be wrought upon it will not withstand the storms of second-year and third-year Latin if the foundation has been built upon the sands of false objectives, that too often strew the path of the teacher of first-year Latin.

There is no royal road to the learning of Latin, but, if we make the road to the learning of Latin smooth, traveling will become a source of pleasure. I say *pleasure*, because I mean it. You can get as much from your class as you yourself put into it. Pupils recognize very quickly, alas, too quickly, what kind of a teacher they have; they know whether much or little is being given to them, whether much or little is being expected of them. They can and do read us more readily and accurately than we read them.

Not all pupils that begin the study of Latin can continue or should continue the study of Latin, but, just so long as they are in the Latin class, we should expect and should demand of them work to the limit of their ability. If a pupil is capable of 95% work, that is what he must give; on the other hand, the pupil that can accomplish only 50% of the lesson must give 50% of the lesson, not 49% only.

There are so many objectives that, according to the Report of the Classical Investigation, should be attained and indeed are worthy of attainment that we must not allow the main objectives to be buried underneath the lesser. The modern text-book is in most cases a work of art. It contains an abundance of material, and rightly so, but, if we wish to have success crown our efforts in the use of the book that, according to good or bad fortune, has fallen to our lot, we should apply to our use of the book the words of Sir Francis Bacon, who says, in his essay on Reading, "Some parts are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested".

Drill, constant drill is necessary. In this way only can the vocabulary, the declensions, and the conjugations, the *sine qua non* of Latin, be fixed indelibly in the minds of the pupils. No matter in what manner one can produce results, whether by oral work, or by written work, or by a combination of the two, whether one spends much time or little time in 'correcting'

⁷Dr. Marion I. Newbigin, *The Mediterranean Lands*, 168 (Alfred A. Knopf, 1924). The chapter from which the quotation is taken is entitled *Decline of Rome: Its Causes and Consequences*. The whole book might with profit be read and reread by all students of Greek and Roman history. The closing sentence of the Preface (7) deserves to be quoted: "...Students cannot acquire too soon the habit of linking the great facts of climate and relief with the life of man".

⁸In this connection one may read with profit the paper by Professor W. W. Hyde, *Trajan's Danube Road and Bridge*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 18, 50-64 (December 8, 1924). C. K. >

⁹The Lower Danube is in about the same latitude as Marseilles and Bordeaux. Marseilles has a January average temperature about the same as that of Rome, Bordeaux three or four degrees lower, Bukharest eighteen degrees lower. The lowest temperature ever recorded for Bukharest is forty degrees lower than the lowest ever recorded for Rome. Sulina (which is near Tomis, the scene of Ovid's banishment) has a January temperature almost as low as that of Bukharest. An ancient Roman would have regarded it almost as a modern American would regard Siberia. Ovid gives a vivid account of the harshness of the climate (*Tristia* 3, 10, 9-50); he is not sure that people in Rome will believe his account of the frozen sea. As a matter of fact, the northwest shores of the Black Sea are ice-bound for more than two months in the year.

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on May 1-2, 1931.

papers, the result must be produced. Occasionally, but only occasionally, after spending many hours each day in correcting papers, I feel that perhaps it may be possible to obtain just as good results by other methods. But I always return to written tests: not only do I mark these, but the pupils are required to correct all errors. If I do not read the papers, my conscience will grant me no peace of mind. So, rather than worry in fear that I have not done my duty, I correct an endless amount of papers; then, at least, I have a clear conscience.

In a few Schools where it is possible to begin the study of Latin in the eighth grade more time (i. e. more than two terms) is given for the mastery of the fundamentals; the way is then made easier both for the pupil and for the teacher. But in most Schools only one year can be devoted to the preparation for second-year Latin. Therefore in that one year the principles must be taught and abundant and constant reviews must be given.

SECOND-YEAR LATIN

In second-year Latin a wide scope in the choice of subject matter is allowed; the amount that should be read is about 2,800 lines or the equivalent of the first four books of Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*. Although many teachers are opposed to the teaching of Caesar in the beginning of the second year of Latin, I have found the use of Caesar entirely feasible. Progress is, to be sure, at first very slow; there is need for systematic drill in syntax, inflection of words, and vocabulary. If the sentences for translation from English to Latin are based on words and constructions taken from the previous day's lesson, pupils review the lessons that they have had; they pay closer attention to the constructions, and they learn the vocabulary. I do not even omit chapters thirty to fifty-four of Book One of the *De Bello Gallico*, for I have found that pupils, by meeting the difficulties therein encountered, gain such power that indirect discourse, the gerund, the gerundive, the periphrastic conjugation, the ablative absolute, result clauses, and purpose clauses are no longer unknown quantities. After the third term has been spent upon the first book of the *De Bello Gallico*, it is possible without any difficulty to complete the second, third, and fourth books in the fourth term.

I cannot understand how any one can find the teaching of Caesar's Commentaries dull and uninteresting. They are full of action; new and unexpected situations arise constantly. Then, too, the personality of Caesar himself, his treatment of the enemy, his control of his soldiers, his rapid plan of action in the midst of difficulties furnish an endless supply of interest³. With the help of a map his marches can be followed and the extent of his undertakings is made more clear.

You can easily fill pupils with a desire to conquer a hard lesson. Even the weakest pupils in a class take

pride in being able to translate correctly the seventeenth chapter of the fourth book of the *De Bello Gallico*, which tells us that Caesar had a bridge built across the Rhine in an incredibly short time. Each year, in studying this chapter, we use a bridge that had been constructed by a pupil of a former year.

THIRD-YEAR LATIN

Since the completion of the Classical Investigation so many new books with an abundance of material of every variety for rapid reading have been published that no teacher can complain any longer of a dearth of suitable reading matter. I, however, pass directly in the fifth term from the study of Caesar's *Gallic War* to that of Cicero's *Orations*. No matter whether a longer or a shorter period of time elapses before the study of Cicero's *Orations* is begun, difficulties will have to be met by the pupils as they study Cicero, since the style of an oration of Cicero is necessarily different from that of the narrative in Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*. If pupils are to continue the study of Latin, a most intensive study of syntax, inflection, vocabulary, and prose composition is especially important in the third year, which is the last year in which real stress should have to be laid upon the fundamentals of the language.

In this year, for prescribed study we have the four *Orations Against Catiline*, the *Pro Lege Manilia*, and the *Pro Archia*, with one session of each week devoted entirely to prose composition. The *Oration against Verres* and the *Letters of Cicero* furnish excellent material for sight reading, which should form a part of practically every lesson, particularly in the sixth term. Excellent Latin prose passages for comprehension at sight have been prepared and published so that never again need the cry be heard that there is no suitable sight-reading material to present to classes.

A notebook with historical references pertinent to the subject matter in the orations of Cicero is indeed something that can not safely be disregarded. An excellent opportunity is offered to study reasons for the rise and the decline of nations, and of Rome in particular, to make comparisons with our own government, to become familiar with our debt to Rome, and last, but not least, to know Cicero's place in literature.

By the time that the pupils are ready to read the oration in defense of *Archias* they are prepared to enjoy the Latin. The reading of Latin is no longer a slow, stumbling, process; Cicero's tribute to the man of letters becomes real to pupils. What a rich opportunity is offered to the teacher to stress the value of study! Is it possible, with such a program for the third year, for teacher or pupil to find a dull moment in the class?

FOURTH-YEAR LATIN

For all concerned, the fourth year of Latin becomes a real pleasure. In spite of the hard work, at the end of the year no one regrets having studied Latin. Vocabulary drill is very necessary. The study of scansion, figures of prosody, constructions peculiar to poetry, rhetorical figures, Greek and Roman mythology, and

³In this connection reference may be made to Professor Lodge's paper, *The Literary Interpretation of Caesar*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 23.185-190, 193-195. C. K. >

prose composition prevents the teaching or the study of fourth-year Latin from becoming monotonous.

In the study of Vergil, we can enjoy beauty of style. We read of characters famous in literature and in history. There are well-known passages to be learned. We follow the journeys of Aeneas on the map; by making their own maps, the pupils familiarize themselves with the wanderings of Aeneas. By means of pictures the places are made real.

In the fourth year, for prescribed study, we have the first six books of the Aeneid and about one thousand lines of Ovid. A sufficient amount of Books 7-12 of the Aeneid is read at sight to enable pupils to become acquainted with their contents. In addition, about one thousand lines of Ovid are read at sight. No longer is sight reading an object of dread; it has become a real enjoyment.

GENERAL REMARKS

I wish now to make a few remarks on matters that pertain to the entire High School course in Latin. It is often stated that pupils forget Latin after they leave School; hence pupils are often advised not to study Latin at all. In this connection we should remember that, unless the study of a subject is continued after School days have become a thing of the past, persons will, after a period of years has elapsed, know no more of mathematics, of chemistry, of physics, in fact of any High School subject of study than they will of Latin, if they do not keep up the study of Latin.

Colleges are in part to blame for the discontinuance by many pupils of the study of Latin, since Latin is no longer a required study for entrance to the majority of Colleges.

We should bear in mind the fact that there is need for teachers with a strong personality. We should, I say again, accept from pupils nothing but the limit of their ability; from those to whom much has been given much should be expected. We should make Latin a live language.

In conclusion I would say to all teachers of Latin something like this: Be master of every situation. Be well prepared for each day's work. Work hard yourself, and demand the same kind of work from your pupils. Expect and accept only good work, and have it done in a systematic manner. Keep your standard high. Cling to old methods that are good, but accept new methods that are helpful.

By means of travel, if possible, by constant study, by wide reading keep your hearts and minds young for the training of the young.

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MARY L. HESS

REVIEWS

Lupus of Ferrieres as Scribe and Text Critic: A Study of His Autograph Copy of Cicero's *De Oratore*. By Charles Henry Beeson. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America (1930). Pp. x + 52, and 109 Folios (218 Pages) of Latin Text. \$12.

For many years Professor Beeson, of the University of Chicago, was busily engaged in tracing and identify-

ing manuscripts which once belonged to Servatus Lupus, Abbot of Ferrieres, and were corrected by him. This search proved fruitful, for, out of seven manuscripts so far identified as having passed through the hands of Lupus, Professor Beeson is responsible for the identification of five, including that reproduced in the volume under review.

Without exaggeration Lupus may be considered both the finest classicist that the Caroline Renaissance produced and a forerunner of the Renaissance humanists. Believing as he did in seeking learning for its own sake, he made it his greatest aim in life not only to get manuscripts, but to correct and to copy them. In one of his letters he applies to this task the modest terms "*oblivionis remedium et eruditionis augmentum...*" His thirst for learning, however, was not quenched with the possession of a single copy of a given manuscript. As Professor Beeson neatly puts it (4),

... The urge for a second copy from which to correct the first is almost as strong in Lupus as the desire for a new text. It is this characteristic that distinguishes him from all the other scholars of the Middle Ages...

Although not a great scholar himself, Lupus rendered a great service to classical learning by displaying a fine scholarly instinct. This manifests itself above all in his respect for textual tradition (21). If he had two manuscripts of the same author, he would preserve "the discrepant readings or old readings..." resorting only occasionally to emendation (4). This is a quality which many Renaissance scholars lacked. Further, he would closely follow the archetype (12, 21), leaving vacant spaces in his transcript if the archetype had them, or leaving space where the text was either actually corrupt, or in his opinion corrupt. He employed this careful method in the hope that he might find a manuscript of the same author which would enable him to fill the lacunae.

It is to this Lupus that we owe both the first mention of Cicero's *De Oratore* in the Middle Ages (3) and a text of this work of Cicero, a text which Lupus himself copied and corrected from a copy which probably belonged to Einhard, the author of *Vita Caroli Magni* (5), with whom Lupus was in correspondence. This manuscript, the only autograph of Lupus in existence (Preface, viii), is known as the Codex Harleianus (Harley 2736) and belongs to the oldest group of the Mutili Manuscripts of the *De Oratore*, of which it is also the best (6-7). The script of this codex, a fine specimen of Caroline minuscule, shows that Lupus was an experienced scribe.

Professor Beeson's volume consists of two parts. Part One (1-52) contains the Preface (vii-viii), <Table of> Contents (ix), and the Introduction (3-52), which discusses "Lupus as Scribe and Text Critic". In this part Professor Beeson gives us a detailed history and description of the manuscript he is studying, an account (3-8) worthy of his scholarship. The description can well serve as a model for discussions of that kind. The work and the methods of Lupus are then searchingly analysed under different headings, as follows: Orthography (11-13), Division of Syllables (13-15), Punctuation, Capitals and Paragraph Signs (15-17), Abbrevi-

ations (17-21), Vacant Spaces (21-27), Technical Signs (27-29), The Correctors (29-32), Marginal Index (32-34), Marginal Variants (34-36), Marginal Corrections (36-37), Interlinear Corrections (37-40), Corrections in the Line (41-45), Erasures (45-49). There is also a Concordance Table (50-52). On pages 29-31, under the caption The Correctors, Professor Beeson discusses mainly corrections made in the Codex Harleianus by scribes later than Lupus¹.

Professor Beeson's discussions are minute and illuminating. On the one hand he reconstructs the secrets of Lupus's scriptorium; on the other he throws light on the critical methods employed in the ninth century. That such a discussion is also of great value to the history of the text itself is self-evident.

Part Two gives an excellent reproduction of the Codex Harleianus of Cicero, De Oratore. Folios 1 Recto to 106 Verso, first column contain Cicero, De Oratore; Folios 106 Verso, second column to 109 Verso contain some Latin poems which have no connection whatever with Cicero. The folios are slightly reduced in size.

Both from the point of view of method and in scholarship Professor Beeson's work is highly commendable². In matters of method students of paleography will find it very useful. Again, inasmuch as it throws so much light on the critical methods, scholarship, and cultural history of the ninth century, it will encourage further research, especially since some of Lupus's pupils, who became leading scholars, followed his tradition (9). Thus it will be worth while to study the influence of Lupus's tradition both upon his immediate followers and upon others.

I cannot finish without saying a word about the form of the book itself. It is the finest piece of bookmaking and printing I have seen of late. The Mediaeval Academy which sponsored it and the author himself have good reason to be proud of it.

HUNTER COLLEGE

JACOB HAMMER

A Walk to Horace's Farm. By E. K. Rand. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company (1930). Pp. xi + 78. \$2.50¹.

In the summer of 1929 Professor and Mrs. Rand paid a visit to the countryside round about Mantua in order to learn, if possible, the true facts about the location of Vergil's native Andes. The results of their investigation, and much else besides, were published about a year ago in a book entitled *In Quest of Virgil's Birthplace* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), wherein Professor Rand asserts his conviction that the site is the traditional one at Pietole. Readers of that delightful volume may now be duly grateful that the author has been moved, quite naturally,

¹Since in these pages Professor Beeson is dealing mainly with the work of persons other than Lupus, this Section makes a bad break in the sequence of topics discussed in the Introduction. It would have been far better to divide into two parts the material which now appears in this Section and to put that part of it which is concerned with "The Correctors" later, as an appendix to the part which deals with Lupus's own work. C. K.

²Except in one particular—a rather important particular—, pointed out in note 1, above. C. K.

³An outrageous price! C. K.

to turn his attention to Vergil's poet friend and has described for them, in similar vein, the famous Sabine Farm where the half of Horace's soul that was not Vergil's spent the best part of the last thirty years of its earthly life.

A Walk to Horace's Farm is less pretentious than the earlier volume, and rightly so. For the topographical questions at issue are now less debatable in this case than in the other. By Horace himself (e. g. Epistles 1.10.49, 14.1-5, 16.1-16, 18.104-110) we are directed to the valley of the Digentia (the modern Licenza), a little stream that flows into the Anio (Teverone) above Tibur (Tivoli). In the second half of the eighteenth century two abbés, the French Capmartin de Chaupy and the Italian Domenico de Sanctis, carried on independent investigations in this upland region and were in agreement in locating the site of the Horatian villa (15) "more definitely at Vigne di S. Pietro, a vineyard near the junction of the Fosso delle Chiuse and the Licenza...", at a point where some Roman remains were excavated. This location was generally accepted as the proper one for almost a century, until another Frenchman, Noel des Vergers, published in his introduction to the Didot edition of Horace (1855) the results of a fresh study of the neighborhood, from which he concluded (16) that "the villa was situated not at Vigne di S. Pietro, but on a plateau called Capo le Volte, nearer to Rocca Giovane...", that is, a little farther to the south and more distant from the right bank of the Licenza. This new view then held the field for some years. But further archaeological investigations at the first site brought it back into favor; and finally the definitive publication of Professor Giuseppe Lugli, *La Villa Sabina di Orazio* (in *Monumenti Antichi* 31 [1926], 457-598)², has convinced Professor Rand, and most students of the problem, that Horace's Sabine farm is to be identified as to its site with the excavated Roman villa found at the Vigne di San Pietro.

It is to this site that the "Walk" leads in the book under review. At the journey's end the present remains of the Roman villa are described in some detail and with much appreciation (38-50). For such a literary tour Professor Rand is an incomparable companion. His good humor never fails. He instructs and entertains as he proceeds, fusing 'Dichtung' and 'Wahrheit', as he praises Horace for doing (6); and the reader's interest never flags. The actual walk which is described so pleasantly and vividly took place in February, 1913. But the author has brought his 'Wahrheit' up to date by availing himself of the investigations and discussions which have been published since then, notably of "Lugli's monumental publication in 1926..." (17), some of whose plans and photographs he has introduced into his own book. There are many other illustrations—photographs, plans, maps—, forty-two in all. All are clearly printed. The plan of the Horatian (?) villa on page 39, reproduced from Lugli, is

²See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21 (1927), 48. Compare also Giuseppe Lugli, *Horace's Sabine Farm*, Translated by Gilbert Bagnani (Rome: Luciano Morpurgo, 1930. Pp. 71, with sixteen Plates and two maps).

especially helpful to an understanding of the text. At the end of the volume (77-78) a selected list of books is given; for an elaborate bibliography the reader is referred to Lugli's long article².

In the course of his visit to Horace's country home Professor Rand delivers himself of an occasional opinion on other matters Horatian. He inclines (9-10) to Hallam's (and Suetonius's)³ belief "that the poet had a villa at Tibur as well as in the Sabine country". He believes that the smooth rocks *Ustica cubans* of Carmina 1.17. 11-12 may well be the "bald and slippery rocks" that lie exposed on a roundish hillock on the left bank of the Licenza, "diagonally opposite Colle Rotondo..." (34). But what of the famous Bandusian Fount? Professor Rand is sure in his own mind that it belongs to the Sabine Farm ultimately, though his earnest attempt to discover it led to no absolute certainty (61-70). But, as he says (70),

...doubting is not unpleasant. It may be irreverent, as Byron warns us, 'to trace the Muses upward to their Spring.' Now that both the North Pole and the South have been touched, perhaps we should rather be thankful that one mystery is still beyond the reach of the explorer—the Fountain of Blandusia.<sic/>.

This is an excellent book, for its contents, its style, and its format. The printing is well done. But friends of the author, knowing his staunch insistence on the 'Virgil' spelling of Vergil, should be pardoned for smiling wickedly when they note that Professor Haight's given name is Elizabeth on page xi (*bis*) and Elisabeth on page 77 (*bis*).

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

PLINY THE ELDER AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ON THE ART OF NOT CONTRADICTING

In a casual manner Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 3.2, reveals a pleasing personal characteristic. He says that he never follows any single author to the exclusion of others, but excerpts from each writer the things that seem most trustworthy and thus avoids criticizing and contradicting any one at all.

The passage reminds one of a few lines in Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*. After telling how the charm of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* caused him to renounce the habit of blunt contradiction and how he was gradually led to avoid all expressions that might convey the idea that he was obstinately attached to his opinion, Franklin continues¹:

...and, as the chief ends of conversation are to inform or to be informed, to please or to persuade, I wish that well-meaning sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive, assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create

opposition, and to defeat every one of those purposes for which speech was given to us, to wit, giving or receiving information or pleasure.

Franklin cultivated the habit of tactfulness in conversation by the use of such expressions as "...I conceive or apprehend a thing to be so and so; it appears to me, or I should think it so and so, for such and such reasons; or I imagine it to be so; or it is so, if I am not mistaken"². This is a lesson that Franklin might have learned from Arcesilaus, who avoided the appearance of self-assertiveness by saying 'I suppose', 'So-and-so will not agree to this', and similar modest expressions³.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS FELLOWSHIPS

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens was founded by the Archaeological Institute of America in 1881. In 1886 it was organized as a corporation under the laws of the State of Massachusetts. It is supported in part by the cooperation of leading American Universities and Colleges, in part by the income of endowment funds. No charge for tuition is made to graduates of the supporting institutions.

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¹*Ibidem*.

²Diogenes Laertius 12.36. The Greeks, too, were discourteous in heckling lecturers by interruptions and contradictions. Plutarch, *Moralia* 39 C-D, draws an interesting picture of the treatment accorded to speakers.

<Dr. McCartney will, I am sure, welcome an addition to his note 3, an addition which is in thorough harmony with his most delightful and helpful practice of bringing ancient matters and similar modern matters into touch with each other. What follows appeared as a letter to the Editor in The New York Sun, Monday, November 2, 1931. C. K.>

There is such a thing as "British fair play," just as there is Irish, American or Egyptian fair play, but the British variety of this excellent quality is noticeably absent from public meetings preceding a Parliamentary election in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. New Yorkers who attend the orderly rallies held in Carnegie Hall and Madison Square Garden, where people in evening dress are regaled with music and oratory, would be shocked by the rough-and-ready political jousts of London and Liverpool, redolent of stout and bitter.

The last time I heard Lloyd George speak in Lusby's Music Hall in East London it was deemed necessary for his physical protection to post a score of stalwart young Liberals in the seats nearest the platform. I have heard Mr. Asquith, Ramsay MacDonald, Austen Chamberlain, Winston Churchill and George Lansbury interrupted and insulted during campaign addresses in such an outrageous manner that I wondered if, after all, "British fair play" were anything but a pleasant myth.

I have never heard a more gracious and eloquent platform orator than Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. No speaker, male or female, could ever have been more considerate of the thoughts and feelings of the contrariminded, and yet I have heard this noble Englishwoman insulted in a most unappealable manner by her fellow countrymen. Both Mrs. Pankhurst's daughters, Christaef and Sylvia, have been often the victims of such "British fair play." A British political audience seems unable to tolerate or listen with respect to any speaker whose views are not immediately acceptable.

It was once my good fortune to hear Lady Astor deliver a campaign speech at Devonport, England, and, although I admired her courage and persistence I marveled at her desire to represent such a constituency. As I listened to the interruptions, which included contemptible slurs and impossible insinuations as to Lady Astor's private life, I mentally asked: "Why does this splendid American woman prefer the rain and sordidness of Devon to the sunshine and sweetness of Virginia?" Undoubtedly she would answer: "Because I feel that I can better serve humanity here"; but it calls for a lot of courage and sacrifice.

Political audiences in Scotland and Ireland are just as disorderly as those of England, except that the Irish never insult a woman speaker. In both countries, however, as in England, an overripe tomato or ancient egg often is used as an answering argument. Lord Rosebery said the main difference between an antagonistic audience in Scotland and one in Ireland was that "in Scotland they shout you down, while in Ireland they sing you down."

New York, October 31.

HYACINTHE RINGROSE.

²Compare Jacob Hammer, *De Horatiana Villa*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 17 (1924), 201-205. Readers may be interested also in an article entitled *At the Sabine Farm*, by L. S. Amery, in THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, for February 1931, 235-242.

³G. H. Hallam, *Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm* (Harrow: Harrow School Bookshop, 1927). <For a review of this book, by Professor Grace Harriet Goodale, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 20, 49-50. C. K.> Compare Suetonius, *Vita Horati*.

⁴Benjamin Franklin: *His Autobiography*, in *Harvard Classics*, 1, 19 (New York, P. F. Collier and Son, 1909). The wording of this quotation is much different in some other editions of the *Autobiography*.

awarded on examination. The examinations for the Fellowships in 1932-1933 will be held in March, 1932. The students' library of the School contains 8000 carefully selected volumes; the Gennadius Library contains about 50,000 items.

Correspondence about Fellowships should be addressed to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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BENJAMIN D. MERITT

PLINY, EPISTULAE 6.20. 8-9

It is a familiar fact, illustrated repeatedly in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* by notes of my own, as well as by notes written by Dr. McCartney, Professor Spaeth, and Professor Mary Johnston, that the student of the Classics may find in casual reading, in books, etc., that seem widely sundered from matters Greek and Latin, excellent illustrations of classical matters.

In the magazine called *The Blue Book*, for December, 1931, on pages 19-25, there is a story, entitled *Fire Mountain*, by Warren Hastings Miller. Though crudely written, the story gives a powerful description (presumably based on personal knowledge) of an earthquake on some island of the East Indies. On page 21 occurs the following passage:

"They were driving up in the *dos-a-dos*, that two-wheeled Eastern carriage where four sat back to back, Grenville with Brim, Carey with Miriam beside him. The English girl was praying that not one twenty-two earthquake would disturb their prospects this day—but it happened.

Brrrrrr! A low rumble, traveling like a whiplash across the bay. The ground suddenly heaved and shook, making the ponies stumble, and shaking up everyone violently in their seats.

'Hold fast!' came a cheery hail—with forced joviality—from Grenville. They clutched at the arm-irons. Carey had imagined an earthquake as something over and done with after a violent shock or two. He was not prepared for one that kept up fifteen minutes. The world went giddy before his eyes in a very few minutes, and he felt sick at the stomach. Brim was soon retching incontinently.

'It's nothing—we have them—ev—ry day!' he heard Grenville stammering jerkily through clenched teeth. Carey tried to suppress his terror. One felt the most helpless and miserable of God's creatures in the grip of this titanic force! It seemed that God had left off control of His world; something that might be Satan had hold of it now, and was playing with men in a diabolical and ghastly humor. Was it ever going to end?

It ended with a complete spill of all of them out of the carriage; yet the ground continued to hump, and you could do nothing but clutch fast in blind hopelessness. Then it passed, and the world was its solid self again. Grenville picked himself up laughing, and helped Brim to her feet. Carey was astonished to find the English girl doing that for him too, instead of allowing him the usual male obligation to be first."

This will illustrate Pliny, *Epistulae* 6. 20. 8-9:

... Egressi tecta consistimus. Multa ibi miranda, multas

formidines patimur, nam vehicula quae produci iusseramus, quamquam in planissimo campo, in contrarias partes agebantur ac ne lapidibus quidem fulta in eodem vestigio quiescebant. Praeterea mare in se resorberi et tremore terrae quasi repellere videbamur....

Mr. Miller's story contains a very vivid description of the effect of an earthquake on the sea.

CHARLES KNAPP

PHILADELPHIA CLASSICAL SOCIETY

A large gathering of members and their friends attended the fall meeting of the Philadelphia Classical Society, on October 30, 1931, at the Pepper Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. After briefly outlining plans for the year, Mr. John Gummere, President of the Board of Governors, introduced Professor David Moore Robinson, of The Johns Hopkins University, who gave a delightful address (illustrated by lantern slides), entitled *A Second Campaign at Olynthus*, in which he described his excavations at Olynthus last spring.

Mr. Gummere then presented Professor George D. Hadzsits, of the University of Pennsylvania, who presided over the second part of the programme, the presentation of the volume of *Classical Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe*. Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel made the formal presentation. Professor Rolfe replied most graciously and Professor H. Lamar Crosby, Professor Felix E. Schelling, and Professor Hadzsits, all of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Reverend Dr. J. A. MacCallum, Pastor of Professor Rolfe's Church, added appropriate words of congratulation.

ELIZABETH P. LONGAKER,
Corresponding Secretary

AN AMERICAN ILLUSTRATION OF JUVENAL 3.274-277

That certain street conditions portrayed by Juvenal (3.274-277) as prevalent in imperial Rome are not so far removed from us in time or in space as might at first be thought is shown by a passage in a recent book, *Jews Without Money*, by Michael Gold, 56-57 (New York, Horace Liveright, 1930). The scene is New York City's East Side a few decades ago¹:

"Summer. Everywhere the garbage. Plop, bung, and another fat, spreading bundle dropped from a tenement window. Many of the East Side women had this horrible custom. To save walking downstairs, they wrapped their garbage in newspapers and flung it in the street. In summer the East Side heavens rained with potato peelings, coffee grounds, herring heads and dangerous soup bones. Bang, went a bundle, and the people in the street ducked as if a machine gun sounded....

In the maelstrom of wagons, men, pushcarts, street cars, dogs and East Side garbage, the mothers calmly wheeled their baby carriages...."

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

¹With this note compare Professor W. M. Huggill's article, *The Condition of Streets in Ancient Athens and in Ancient Rome*, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 24.162-164, and Professor Knapp's remarks in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 19.82, 98, 114, 159, 24.164.



"I believe High Schools could do a great service not only for advanced Latin but for their own day-by-day progress in Latin if they would do more drill work in composition. I know it is difficult when there are so many things to do, but a sentence or two a day would be very good practice and the time would not be appreciably cut from other things".—LUCY WHITSEL, Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia.

HIS statement from *The Classical Journal* for November, 1931, is chock-full of good advice. Teachers who agree can find in **LATIN—FIRST YEAR** and **LATIN—SECOND YEAR** of *The Climax Series* exactly this method of handling composition through daily work with a few sentences.

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